Home-city geographies: urban dwelling and mobility

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Abstract

Developing an agenda to conceptualise the connections between the domestic and the urban, this paper focuses on urban domesticities (home-making in the city), domestic urbanism (the city as home) and the home-city geographies that connect them. Home-city geographies examine the interplay between lived experiences of urban homes and the contested domestication of urban space. Reflecting the ways in which urban homes and the ability to feel at home in the city are shaped by different migrations and mobilities, the paper demonstrates that not only home and the city, but also urban dwelling and mobility, are intertwined rather than separate.

Keywords

City, domesticity, dwelling, home, housing, migration, mobility

I Introduction

At a time when lived experiences and wider ideas of home are increasingly precarious and uncertain in the context of rapid change and heightened inequalities in the city, this paper develops a new agenda to conceptualise the connections between the domestic and the urban. Seeking not only to understand home within an urban context, but also to understand the city in relation to the homes within it, we discuss *urban domesticities* (home-making in the city), *domestic urbanism* (the city as home) and the *home-city geographies* that connect them. Rather than concentrate on either the domestication of the urban or the urbanization of the domestic, we argue that home-city geographies encompass the material and imaginative geographies of both within an inclusive conceptual framework. Reflecting the ways in which urban homes and the ability to feel at home in the city are shaped by

migrations and other mobilities, we argue that not only home and the city, but also urban dwelling and mobility, are intertwined rather than separate.[i]

The agenda developed in this paper responds to the following questions: what are the intersections between urban homes and wider understandings of the city as home? What does it mean to feel at home – or not at home – in the city? How is urban dwelling on domestic and city scales shaped by migration and other mobilities? How are home and the city sites of connection and disconnection for urban residents with different experiences of migration, mobility and housing? How can creative practice and new methodological approaches help to illuminate and articulate home-city geographies? To answer these questions – and to develop debates within research on home, on the home in urban studies and on home and the city in migration studies - we move beyond the domestic interior to consider home in its urban context; consider the importance of lived experiences of home alongside the 'domestication' of urban space; and explore urban dwelling in relation to migration and other mobilities within and beyond the city.

Our analysis of urban domesticities, domestic urbanism and the home-city geographies that connect them addresses the intersections of urban dwelling and mobility in three key ways. First, building on research that moves beyond a focus on migrant home-making in the city to explore streets, neighbourhoods and the wider city itself as home (Blunt et al., 2012; Bonnerjee, 2012) and arguments about transnational urbanism (Smith, 2001), translocality (Brickell and Datta, 2011) and diaspora cities (Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013), home-city geographies address broader relationships between dwelling and mobility and the ways in which they intersect urban and domestic scales, unsettling the boundaries between them. Second, our understanding of urban dwelling and mobility is informed by recent work that considers relationships between urban change and the increasing diversification of certain spaces within the city. Rather than taking an ethnic group as the unit of analysis, such research focuses on new intersections of difference – often termed 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) – in particular urban locations such as neighbourhoods, streets, markets, cafés, workplaces and housing estates (Biehl, 2015; Gidley, 2013; Hall, 2009; Wessendorf, 2014). Yet, as with other research on the domestication of urban space, this work privileges public spaces of encounter, with less attention to the domestic spaces in which migrants live (although see Gidley, 2013; Boccagni, 2014). Third, we develop a conceptual and methodological framework for understanding home-city geographies that encompasses a wide range of mobilities in the city that include, but extend beyond, migration. These mobilities range from everyday movements around the city which are a key part of making

and sustaining home (Wilson, 2011) to the moves that many are forced to make (Jackson, 2015) – alongside the enforced immobility of many others - that both enable and frustrate different kinds of urban home-making in the context of housing precarity (Meek, 2014; McAvinchey, 2016; Brun, 2016).

Central to the agenda for home-city geographies that we develop in this paper is an engagement with creative and collaborative practice. As an introductory example, two recent projects on 'rooms with a view' raise questions about the relationships between home and the city that frame our argument about home-city geographies. The intergenerational arts organization, Magic Me, with artists Sue Mayo and Raj Bhari, developed a year-long project 'Rooms with a view' that culminated in an intergenerational community performance 'Speak as you find' in 2015. Based in the East London borough of Tower Hamlets, the project unsettled 'dominant narratives of place, identity and community that overshadow the complex, layered and nuanced experience' of residents in urban neighbourhoods and the wider borough (McAvinchey, 2016: 19-20; see magicme.co.uk/rooms 9). On a similar theme, the film 'A room with your views' by artist Gillian Wearing was co-commissioned by HOUSE and Brighton Festival in 2016. This film is part of the project 'Your views,' in which Wearing invites 'people worldwide to contribute a short video clip of their curtains or blinds opening to reveal a view from their window.' The video installation included more than 700 contributions from 163 countries, and is part not only of Wearing's wider interest in 'exploring our public personas and private lives' but also the aims of the HOUSE Festival to cross thresholds between private and public space through the sites and subjects of contemporary visual art (www.housefestival.org/house-gillian-wearing; http://yourviewsfilm.com). The 'views' in Wearing's project look out from the domestic interior and include, but also extend far beyond, a wide range of urban locations. In contrast, Mayo and Bhari's work is firmly rooted in the streets and neighbourhoods of Tower Hamlets, exploring experiences of, and ideas about, home in this inner urban context. Spanning diversity within one London borough and across the world, each takes either the home or the city as a starting point for a 'view' on the other. Whilst research on 'urban domesticities' takes a view on the city from the starting point of home – like Wearing's work - and research on 'domestic urbanism' takes a view on home from the starting point of the city – like Mayo and Bhari's work - we develop the idea of home-city geographies to encompass the multi-layered entanglements between them.

II: Urban domesticities: home-making in the city

The 'domestic' and the 'urban' have historically been confined to separate discursive and imaginative spheres as the emergence of 'great cities' in the wake of modernity evoked an urban imaginary characterized by large public spaces or unruly crowds, by middle-class leisure pursuits or dire poverty (Marcus, 1999). Comparing literary depictions of apartment buildings in nineteenth-century Paris and London, Sharon Marcus (1999: 6) writes:

> [t]he absence of residential spaces seems to go without saying in accounts of modernity, which define city life as the public life that takes place in collective spaces of exchange or display and describe home life as private, concealed, and self-enclosed, often taking their cue from Walter Benjamin's notion of the home as a hermetically sealed "interior", isolated from its surroundings.

The widely held discursive separation between 'city life' and 'home life' rested upon the distinction between the public and the private which was a defining feature of understandings of home in Western bourgeois societies (Sparke, 2008; Kaika, 2004). Whilst it is important to acknowledge that such a distinction was geographically and socially specific – primarily middle-class urban living in the Anglo-European world - there emerged in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century a widespread conception of home as 'almost synonymous' (Benjamin, 2002: 220-221) with private life, and the domestic interior as crucial to support this intimate, protected and positive realm of experience. A key element within this valorising of the domestic interior was the emergence of connections between 'actual interior space and psychological interiority' for, as Georgina Downey (2013: 2) writes, 'people began to realise that these spaces could and should be designed to harmonize with, and create, certain mood states in the occupant.'

We begin by examining some of the ways in which this 'home as haven' thesis came to be critiqued through historical studies that critically revisit discourses surrounding home and housing in the nineteenth century, and through studies of urban home-making that tell a somewhat 'gloomier tale' (Porteus, 1995: 152) and unsettle widely held binaries that have underpinned understandings of home. We then consider how the materiality of home has extended from a study of domestic material culture to studies of housing and the built form. Focusing on work that takes urban homes or housing as its starting point, we draw out the possibilities of an expanded sense of home that moves beyond the domestic dwelling to incorporate the wider neighbourhood and city.

The urban domestic interior

Historical studies of urban homes reveal how distinctions between private domestic space and public city life were deeply intertwined with dominant class and gender ideologies. The domestic interior came to be equated with femininity, correlating with the assumed spatial division of home and work (Sparke, 2008; Downey, 2013). In addition to a pervasive ideology that a woman's place was the home, scholars of social history and interior design have highlighted not only how the home is also a place of both paid and unpaid work, but also how gendered spatial divisions manifested themselves within the domestic interior, such that décor and furnishings came to both form and reinforce broader assumptions about masculine and feminine spaces (Sparke, 2008: 25). City streets and public spaces, by contrast, were depicted as principally male spaces, embodied by the male, middle-class, figure of the *flâneur*, described by Charles Baudelaire (1964 [1863]) and taken up by urban scholars of modernity. This archetypal explorer of the modern city had the freedom to stroll its streets, observing and absorbing the urban landscape. Whilst these discourses of 'separate spheres' were central to representations of domestic life - and, indeed, studies of urban culture continue to draw on Benjamin's work to 'secure the separation of the urban and the domestic' (Marcus, 1999: 6) - more recent analyses have suggested that running parallel to the social processes which informed ideological *separation* were forces that unsettled or challenged them (Sparke, 2008: 16).

A revisiting of the prevailing discourses surrounding 'separate spheres' has highlighted ways in which such boundaries were far more porous than is often acknowledged (Downey, 2013; Ferguson, 2011). Research has also challenged the prevailing discourse of the domestic interior as being solely a space for 'domestic' activities and the public realm as being purely associated with the non-domestic. Through her reading of texts by Virginia Woolf, Dorothy Richardson and Ezra Pound, Morag Shiach (2005), identifies largely overlooked ways in which interior spaces were key sites of literary and intellectual creativity that influenced wider cultural developments. She critiques the tendency in critical work on the modern city to privilege not just the male figure of the *flâneur*, but also 'to underestimate the ways in which the modernist city depends on [. . .] the domestic interior' (255). The mutually constitutive nature of the city and the domestic interior implies not only that the interior and the 'language of domesticity', 'could be increasingly found in many different semi-public and public "homes from home"' such as restaurants, museums and department stores (Sparke, 2008: 22; Kulper, 2009), but also through the infiltration of 'non-domestic' practices and objects into the domestic interior itself. Finally, studies of

working class life in this period have challenged the notion of the domestic sphere as being the privileged realm of the middle class or elite (Ferguson, 2011; Steedman, 2009). Whilst 'home' for working-class city dwellers may not have been the velvet-lined 'receptacle' evoked by Benjamin (2002: 220-231), it could potentially stretch to encompass public spaces and ways of life in the city. As Ferguson (2011: 64) observes about working-class children in Paris in the nineteenth century, '[w]hat constituted home for a city child was probably not crossing the physical threshold into her or his family's apartment but rather the quarter, the street, and the house whose inhabitants took responsibility for watching over her or him.' This extended view of home moves beyond the 'home as haven' thesis and indicates how urban dwellers' domestic and city lives were deeply intertwined.

Closer attention to the relationship between the representational, material and lived aspects of dwelling forms a key part of the 'material turn' within more recent scholarship on home (Datta, 2008). One aspect of this has been the study of how objects in the home act not only as an expression of identity and experience in the private realm, but also as a performance of identity for others in the negotiation of relations with interior and exterior worlds (Miller, 2001). Alison Clarke's (2001) study of the home decorating practices of three households on a housing estate in North London suggests that interior décor reflects aspirations and desires as well as actions. The interior becomes a space where the complex 'stuff' of social worlds - and the intersections of class, gender and ethnicity - are negotiated and lived as 'the house objectifies the vision the occupants have of themselves in the eyes of others' (42). Even if the interior of the home is not seen by others, the exterior world remains ever-present.

For Greg Noble (2002), the presence of the exterior world can also manifest itself through a 'very banal nationalism', whereby belonging to the nation, in this case Australia, is embedded in people's homes. The role of objects in the home as forming an archive of memories and desires, and reflecting relation nships with different spatial and temporal landscapes, has also been a key element in the study of transnational homes (Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Dibbits, 2009; Wilkins 2016), demonstrating the multi-scalarity of home that extends far beyond the domestic interior (Blunt and Dowling 2006). For migrant households, home possessions - including photographs, furnishings and ornaments - reflect geographies of rootedness and mobility and the complex processes of home-making that encompass past and present, 'here' and elsewhere. As well as shedding light on migrants' own trajectories, the material cultures of migrants' homes reflect broader socio-political relations and

'regimes of identification' (Tolia-Kelly, 2014 : 677). The complex layering of past and present informed writer and curator Michael McMillan's installation the *West Indian Front Room* at the Geffrye Museum of the Home (2006) and subsequent publications (2009a, 2009b). For McMillan, the seemingly 'kitsch' aesthetics of the West Indian front room among Black Caribbean post-war migrants reflects a complex negotiation of identity that combines appropriation, rejection, subversion and imitation. Understood in this way, he argues, 'we can reinterpret the "high-pitched repetition" of tropical tropes … not as shameful kitsch aesthetics but as a tactful response to everyday realities of the diaspora' (McMillan, 2009: 145). Soon after this installation, the theatre company London Bubble staged the performance 'My Home' in four residential locations across the city (Blunt et al., 2007). The script drew on verbatim accounts from Kurdish, Polish, Somali and Vietnamese migrants to London and the performance involved the small audience moving through domestic space to encounter actors in different rooms, with material cultures and embodied practices connecting them with memories of home in other places. These examples demonstrate the ways in which home lives and domestic spaces are connected materially, imaginatively and emotionally to other places, yet less reference is made to the wider urban contexts of both home and migration.

Scholarship on home has challenged several established binaries – between the material 'house' and the immaterial 'home', between public and private, between masculine and feminine. It has also revealed the wider connectedness of home with places beyond through diasporic connections to a real or imagined homeland, and/or links with wider political or social contexts. As the historical work that explored the domestic interior in the context of modernity revealed, for many people, urban domesticity implies the dissolution of boundaries between inside and outside and the mutually constitutive nature of city and home (Marcus, 1999; Di Palma et al, 2009). The following section turns to another key aspect of the material geographies of home and city: urban housing and residence.

Urban housing and residence

Whilst the study of domestic material cultures provides insights into how the objects, décor and layout of the domestic interior are deeply intertwined with the lives and identities of its inhabitants - and with wider social and historical contexts - there have been recent calls for a closer engagement with housing and the built form. As Jacobs and Smith (2008: 518) argue, '[t]o rematerialize home radically is to be drawn back to the insistent but uneasy

articulation between processes traditionally conceived of as pertaining to housing and processes more recently set up as belonging to home.'

From a historical perspective, several scholars have approached the interplay between idealized homes and the realities of dwelling through 'house-biographies' which 'tell stories of particular dwellings and their inhabitants over time and reveal the ways in which the house itself, and domestic life within it, are intimately bound up with wider social, economic, and political processes' (Blunt, 2008 : 551). Mark Llewellyn (2004), for instance, uses oral histories and archival research to explore the 'untold stories' of the inhabitants of Kensal House in North London, as well as narratives of architects and planners who were behind its construction. Blunt's (2008) study of the 'skyscraper settlement' Christodora House in New York City focuses on the trajectory of the settlement house itself, highlighting its built form and dynamic interplay with its physical and social environment in a poor neighbourhood on the Lower East Side as well as the ideals of the Settlement movement. Both studies highlight how the dialogue between the designers, planners and ideologues behind the construction of a building as well as its residents, reveals that an urban dwelling may be 'lived' in different ways to those that had been conceived and is bound up with wider processes of urban transformation.

The ways in which the built form reflects and reproduces wider discourses and practices of inclusion and exclusion - including gender, disability, sexuality, class and race and ethnicity - has been a recurrent theme in studies of urban housing, again revealing how the geographies of urban homes are bound up with wider social and political contexts. Such work has engaged with debates around gentrification and regeneration, displacement and residential segregation and demonstrated shifting experiences of home in an ever-changing socio-economic and physical urban landscape. Within recent studies of urban dwellings in London, for example, social housing estates – often incorporating modernist high-rise buildings - have received significant attention, particularly in the context of a global housing crisis and the gradual dismantling of the utopian promise of public housing (Roberts 2014; Watt, 2016; Baxter, 2017). Research has addressed a tendency in housing studies to focus on the public politics of housing (Ferreri 2012) and explored the more intimate experiences of home, often through drawing on the narratives of a building's inhabitants alongside the voices of building professionals and planners (Jacobs and Merriman, 2011; Lees and Baxter, 2011; Baxter, 2017). Two key themes emerge from such studies. First, like 'house-biographies,' they illustrate that the ways in which a building is used and inhabited by its residents often differs from the way in which it had been conceived

by its architects and planners (Datta, 2006; Baxter 2017). Datta's (2006) study of the 'modernisation' of a housing estate in Bethnal Green, London, for example, describes how residents, through 'acts of creativity, negotiation or active resistance' (797), developed their own relationship with the built form and 'constructed parallel readings of domesticity' (790; also see Cook et al. 2013 on the negotiations of home, housing and strategic planning in Melbourne).

A second, related, theme is how wider perceptions and media representations of certain residential buildings as unhomely and alienating run counter to the lived realities of such spaces which, for many, become spaces of belonging, community and home (Ghosh, 2014; Miller, 1988; Baxter 2017). Recent studies of, and creative interventions on, soon-to-be demolished housing estates – often publicly referred to as 'sink estates' - in London (including Baxter, 2017; Lees, 2014), foreground the narratives and experiences of estate residents, challenging the tendency to dehumanise them and to 'equate the material deterioration of estates with social deterioration of their communities' (Roberts 2014: 2). In the case of the Haggerston West estate, Fugitive Images, an art platform formed by residents on the estate (Andrea Luka Zimmerman and Lasse Johansson, and later with David Roberts), sought through several projects to capture the aural and visual narratives of people living there in the years prior to its demolition and regeneration. One of these, 'I am here', was a direct response to the instalment of bright orange boards onto the windows of vacated and empty flats which, they argued, 'further underlined the dilapidation of the estate', transforming it into an 'object of curiosity' (http://www.iamhere.org.uk/background/). 'I am here' involved the replacement of the sixty-seven bright orange boards with large-scale images of people still living there, such that 'onlookers no longer [stood] unchallenged, as their gaze [was] met and returned by a multitude of faces consisting of current and former residents on the estate. Thus the project literally humanise[d] a piece of architecture on its final journey.' As well as visually challenging the widespread tendency to disregard and marginalise estate dwellers, the project captured the direct engagement between the estate and its immediate locality, in this case a rapidly gentrifying neighbourhood in inner-city London. The private was made public and attempts by the council to contain or isolate the home lives of residents were visually and metaphorically challenged. The home lives of ordinary Londoners were made starkly visible by the tragic fire that killed 71 people at Grenfell Tower in West London in 2017. The fire spread rapidly because of unsafe cladding and exposed the vulnerability and insecurity of residents, many of whom were undocumented migrants and asylum seekers. It

also exposed the precarity and conditionality of housing in cities like London whereby housing has become primarily a financial asset and increasingly distant from security and comfort of what might be termed home (Watt and Minton 2016; Watt 2017).

Widespread negative portrayals of estates as isolated, alienating and 'unhomely' (Blunt and Dowling 2006) tend to be accompanied by the notion that such spaces lack security, community and belonging (Ghosh 2014). Such dominant narratives reinforce the ideological notion of home as a safe, private, enclosed space, unaffected by the wider city. Not only do such discourses underplay the structural forces that lead to the literal or metaphorical *un*making of home (Baxter and Brickell 2014; see also Nowicki 2017 on the UK's 'bedroom tax' and the dismantling of home), they also overlook the ways in which home can be made in multiple ways and encompasses more than the built form. Ghosh's (2014) research into the lives of recent Bangladeshi migrants living in high-rise blocks in inner-city Toronto illustrates this disconnect between the 'imagined sterility and order of high-rises' and the 'nature of everyday social life of their occupants' (2008). Whilst these 'ageing' residential blocks were often highly regulated - though poorly kept - spaces, the Bangladeshi residents changed them into *para* (Bengali for neighbourhood), and transformed them from 'regimented functional spaces into their own social, sacred and economic spaces' (2015). Ghosh reveals the interplay between material and affective relationships with the built form as well as with the wider city and draws out the contrast between the alienating and unhomely city and the sense of home and belonging experienced in the space of the high-rise. The city itself represents foreignness and unfamiliarity while the high-rise *para* allows for a kind of by-passing of the city to create connections with other residents as well as with people and homes in Bangladesh. The 'threshold-crossing capacity of home' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011: 518) also emerges in Cancillieri's study of a high-rise 'multicultural condominium' that houses 2000 migrants in a small city on the Adriatic coast in Italy. Focusing on home-making practices that span domestic and public spaces in the condominium, Cancillieri (2017) argues for a 'progressive home-making' that takes into account how home-making can take place across multiple scales and is inseparable from wider socio-economic processes. However, whilst the study addresses the porosity of the boundaries between interior and exterior – and between private and public – spaces, and considers the structural forces that shape the experience of home, the starting point remains the home and the building itself, with less sense of its wider urban context. This study of the complex geographies of home among migrants and refugees *within* the condominium in

many ways overlooks the connections – and disconnections – between such geographies and those of the wider city.

This section has explored work on 'urban domesticities': the interior and exterior forms of dwelling in the city, and the ways in which these urban dwellings are experienced. It has also considered how urban domesticities are bound up with migration and mobility, offering an expanded and dynamic sense of home as a point of connection or alienation. Yet thinking about urban homes in the city on a domestic scale tells us less about how the city and its streets and neighbourhoods can be experienced as home or not as home. The following section moves beyond the domestic scale to focus on domestic urbanism: the city as home.

II: Domestic urbanism: the city as home

Whilst the nineteenth century marked a key period in the emergence of the modern city and, in parallel, the domestic interior, the twentieth century was pivotal in the merging of these realms (Sparke, 2008). As Benjamin writes: '[t]he twentieth century, with its porosity and transparency, its tendency toward the well-lit and airy, has put an end to dwelling in the old sense' ([14, 4] 220-221). Yet whilst architecture and interior design inspired by Art Nouveau consciously crossed thresholds between public and private spheres through the use of materials and designs such that one could be 'as at home in an exhibition hall and a department store as in a living room' (Sparke, 2008: 38), such boundaries were arguably always more permeable than often evoked (Marcus, 1999). Di Palma et al.'s (2009) edited volume *The Intimate Metropolis* provides useful ways for conceiving the qualities of the contemporary city with the intimate as 'a condition partaking of both the public and the private, the urban and the domestic, the individual and the collective' (7). For Charles Rice (2009: 73), one way to conceive of the 'intimate metropolis' 'would be to consider the interior much like the city: as an environment through which to travel'. In this section we focus on work by urban scholars on the domestication of public space, as well as other research that develops wider notions of home-making beyond the domestic. Taking the city as a starting point, we consider how such work reveals or overlooks an extended notion of home.

The disjuncture between form and practice has been a key aspect of debates surrounding the interplay between public and private spheres in urban contexts. Kumar and Mukarova (2008), for example, explore contemporary processes of the 'domestication of public space' through a discussion of how new technologies and diverse new 'lifestyle possibilities' have shifted the boundaries between public and private in complex ways. They discuss how

certain practices usually associated with private spaces of the home such as 'eating, talking intimately, expressing emotions, entertaining oneself' are now carried out in 'what were formerly thought of as public spaces' (325). They highlight how such practices, far from taking on more public qualities, 'still remain intensely private, even intimate, activities.' Whilst considerable attention has been given to the invasion of the public into the private, they argue that '[t]he direction of that flow is different now. It is not the public that overwhelms the private but the private that threatens to overwhelm the public' (336).

In urban studies more broadly, the term 'domestication' has been regarded in negative terms as implying the corrosion of urban public life (Zukin, 1995; Jackson, 1998; Atkinson, 2003) bound up with privatization and commercialization. Such work has linked domestication to wider forms of gentrification, where urban regeneration forms part of strategies to control and privatize public space and thwarts the possibilities for an 'authentic' civic culture to emerge (Jackson 1998; Atkinson 2003). Examining certain policies towards public space in central Scottish cities, Atkinson (2003) uses the notion of 'domestication by cappuccino' (following Zukin, 1995) to explore the exclusionary nature of emerging mechanisms of the control of urban public spaces and 'a move to security through domestication' (1841). The linking of 'domestication' to securitization, privatization, pacification and control serves to support 'a macro narrative about cities being gradually stripped of more authentic firms of public life that have historically defined them' (Koch and Latham, 2013: 9). Through expressing unease about the domestication of public life, such work seems to reinforce the discursive separation between 'the domestic' and 'the public', rather than viewing them as overlapping and mutually constitutive realms of everyday life.

Moving beyond this wider trend to regard 'domestication' in opposition to public life, Koch and Latham (2013: 6) use it as 'a way of attending to urban public spaces and the ways in which they come to be inhabited' (see also Jacobs 1961). They explore the ways in which people 'go about making a home in the city' by focusing on a five-way intersection on the Harrow Road in London: a micro-geography of the ways in which urban space might be domesticated as a site of belonging, hospitality and conviviality. Whilst the junction had become a site of illicit activity and deprivation, Koch and Latham (2013) describe how early interventions aimed at controlling, or 'taming', such 'unruly' elements, did little to make the space more inviting or homely (9-10). Rather than abandon their efforts, the local council, neighbourhood groups and residents undertook a series of steps to make the place more inviting. These included an enlarged pedestrian area, more lighting and bicycle racks, as well as the 'almost accidental' arrival of a café and a piano (11).

These ways of thinking about the relationship between the domestic and the urban challenge negative assumptions about domestication in the city and suggest that 'domestication is more productively understood as a fundamental part of how people come to be at home in cities' (Koch and Latham, 2013: 19). Yet despite these more nuanced approaches to the relationship between home and the city, which allow for a reimagining of the urban as a space of conviviality and inclusivity, there is an imbalance between the emphasis on urban materiality and the largely metaphorical significance of the domestic. Moreover, foregrounding the public overlooks the intimate home lives of the users of those spaces, and what may be lived experiences of 'private segregation' (Gidley, 2013: 370).

As well as thinking about material interventions in the urban landscape that invite possibilities for inhabitation, other work has explored alternative forms of home-making in the city, in particular among marginalised groups such as homeless people (May, 2008; Jackson, 2015), squatters (Vasudevan, 2014), migrants (Law, 2001; Botticello, 2007; Hodagneu-Sotelo, 2017), young people (Butcher and Dickens, 2016), LBGTQ individuals (Gorman-Murray 2006) and undocumented migrants and asylum seekers (McIlwaine 2015). Such research also illustrates how home is bound up with wider forms of mobility – and immobility - and new geographies of encounter in contexts of increasing diversification, or 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007). Yet, as Gidley (2013: 367) argues, urban experiences of belonging and mobility are not evenly experienced: 'some people have no choice but to move, while for others, mobility is ever more constrained' (see also Burrell 2016; Jackson 2015).

Several studies have explored the role of urban space in fostering translocal relations and a sense of belonging and home for migrants. In her research on Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, for example, Lisa Law (2001) explores home-making in the city through a description of a square in central Hong Kong which is transformed into "Little Manila" through regular culinary social gatherings. Through a study of inner-city community gardens among Latino/a residents in New York, Pierette Hodagneu-Sotelo (2017) examines how these spaces come to serve as 'surrogate homes for marginalized, undocumented migrant workers who have experienced a double dislocation, displacement from their countries of origin and incorporation into crowded substandard apartments.' In contrast to the Bangladeshi migrants who make homes in the seemingly unhomely high-rises in Toronto (Ghosh, 2014), these examples reveal how migrants create homes in urban public spaces, oases of 'conviviality' that sharply contrast with their domestic spaces and the wider city. Hodagneu-Sotelo's (2017) study does not offer overly celebratory views of these

alternative homes. Just as home is widely acknowledged as a potential 'site of patriarchy, with hierarchies of duty, power and conflict, and sometimes, violence', so too, she argues, are the community gardens where conflicts have arisen over governance and funding. These urban spaces are not separate from people's intimate home spaces; rather they reveal how experiences of the city are deeply intertwined with experiences of home, and how both home and the city can be sites of connection or alienation.

Another approach to exploring the interplay between urban dwelling and mobility has been through a focus on the city itself as 'an important site of diasporic belonging and attachment' (Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013: 236). Jayani Bonnerjee's (2012) research on Anglo-Indian and Chinese residents in Calcutta, and those who have moved to Toronto and London, highlights the importance of the neighbourhood as a site of home and belonging which is recreated in different locales both at home and in diaspora. Playing on the Bengali word for neighbourhood, *para* (see also Ghosh, 2014), Bonnerjee uses the term 'dias-*para*' to explore how the idea of neighbourhood 'is reproduced through close-knit community links and interactions' and 'sustained through memories of quotidian life in Calcutta' (21). Focusing on the wider city, Blunt and Bonnerjee (2013) examine the ways in which Anglo-Indian and Chinese Calcuttans living in London and Toronto imagine and remember Calcutta as home. The city is evoked not just as a space of arrival and settlement, but also of departure and resettlement and a site that, like migration itself, encompasses 'territorial and emotional mobility and dwelling' (Blunt et al., 2012: 2). Thinking about migration and belonging 'through the city' (Robins, 2001) also forms part of attempts within migration and urban studies to move beyond a focus on the practices and experiences of particular ethnic groups with ties to a national 'homeland', and to think about cities - and particular spaces within them - as diasporic spaces of dwelling and encounters with (super-)diversity (Berg and Sigona, 2013; Wessendorf 2014). Biehl's (2015) research on housing and home among migrants in a super-diverse neighbourhood in Istanbul, for example, highlights the importance of what she refers to as 'home spaces' in studies of diversity, examining how 'multiple factors that are temporally, geographically, socially and spatially situated converge on the ground, mutually conditioning where and how one lives' (597). Here, Biehl points to the need for new conceptualizations of contexts where 'residential space can be interpreted as both product and source of (super)diversification' (600; see also Boccagni and Brighenti 2017).

Understanding urban home-making as bound up with migration and mobility does not imply solely the study of migrant groups, nor does it posit mobility and detachment against

rootedness and belonging (Ahmed et al., 2003: 1; Meier and Frank, 2016). Rather, mobility and belonging to place are connected and relate to wider relations of power and inequality (Gidley, 2013; Jackson, 2015; Burrell, 2016). Emma Jackson's (2015) study of young homeless people and urban space challenges a tendency in studies of homelessness to focus on the street and public spaces and here considers the 'semi-public spaces' – including homeless hostels, day centres or friends' sofas - as integral to the ways in which people experience home in the city. She describes many of their lives as being 'fixed in mobility', by which she refers to the precarity of their housing situations and the barriers to moving into permanent homes (86). Yet alongside movement, Jackson also draws attention to 'forms of getting stuck, getting stopped, or being redirected, and this necessarily involves considering how mobilities are tied to forms of local governance' (5). Indeed, understanding urban dwelling as shaping and shaped by migration and other mobilities means taking into account the impact of mobility and the dynamics of urban change on those who do not move (Krase, 2016). Thus while studies of gentrification and urban regeneration have explored the impact of displacement among residents who are forced to move (Goetz, 2011), other work has considered experiences of displacement among those who stay put while their local environment undergoes rapid change (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Baxter 2017) or the experience of high population turnover or 'churn' (Burrell 2016). For Meier and Frank (2016: 364), '[t]o dwell means to dwell in a place that is open to the outer world and that is under the influence by mobility practices of mobile persons, for example, who are not only crossing a place but also leaving an impact.' Moving further, urban scholars such as Colin McFarlane (2011a; 2011b) have examined the ways in which the city is *made* through the intersecting (dwelling) practices of such mobile people, such that:

> urbanism exists only through the process of inhabiting the city, where inhabiting refers both to everyday forms of education and to the mobile constitution of urbanism, which are the produce of historical accretion and alignment. The city, then, is inhabited, but it is also more importantly a multifarious set of processes of inhabiting, of making and remaking urbanism through sociomaterialities of near and far, actual and virtual, the everyday and the long durée' (2011b: 668).

III: Home-city geographies

The previous sections have examined the interconnected geographies of home and the city through the study of *urban domesticities*: urban home-making on a domestic scale and *domestic urbanism*: the city as home. Research on urban domesticities and domestic urbanism

take either the home or the city as a starting point and explore how it contributes to expanded notions of both as physical locations as well as imaginative and emotional spaces. We have argued, however, that by foregrounding the materiality of *either* the home *or* the city, such analyses often involve the evocation of the other realm in largely metaphorical terms, rather than taking seriously the integrated dynamics of both. How can an understanding of home-city geographies transcend these binaries and conceptualise home and the city as integral and overlapping spheres? How are home-city geographies bound up with wider dynamics of migration and other mobilities? Finally, how can we understand individuals' differential experience of these overlapping realms such that, for some, the city allows for new practices of home-making, whilst for others it is a crucial component in its unmaking (Baxter and Brickell 2014)?

In this section we propose new conceptual and methodological approaches to studying home-city geographies. We begin by discussing research that draws out the porosity of boundaries between home and the city and the mutually constitutive nature of both. Kathy Burrell's (2014) study of a street of terraced houses in a deprived area of Leicester, for instance, explores the ways in which the materiality and 'business' of dwelling enters the site of the home. In contrast to Ghosh (2014), Burrell demonstrates how outside forces relating to the wider urban context literally and metaphorically 'spill over from the street'. Despite the fact that all of the houses in the street are physically similar, the differences surrounding tenure, legal status (for migrants/non-migrants), length of occupation, gender, and generation all impact on lived experiences within these homes and the wider city. They enter the space of the home revealing how the material and immaterial boundaries between the street and the home are fluid and porous. The porous boundaries between home and city are also addressed in Andrew Gorman-Murray's (2006) research on home for gay men in Australia. Challenging the prevailing heteronormativity underlying much research on home – albeit within a critique of gendered relations - Gorman-Murray explores how ideas of home and home-making practices among gay men stretch beyond the domestic to include significant places in the wider neighbourhood and city. As he writes, "gay men and lesbians' uses of homes register as unhomely not only through the performance of non-heteronormative activities, but also through bringing the public – the non-domestic and non-nuclear familial – into the ostensible private in order to create queer, identity-affirming homes' (57). Whereas in Burrell's (2014) study the infiltration of home by wider forces in the street is part of the unmaking of home, for Gorman-Murray (2006), the practice of more public activities associated with the gay 'scene' in the space of the home is part of the ways

in which homes are made. Both examples demonstrate a 'stretching' of home, and a 'recognition that the domestic and the external world imbricate and flow into each other, so that public spaces both affect the constitution of homes and are themselves influenced by home' (Gorman-Murray, 2006: 56).

Migration scholars have also recognized the 'threshold-crossing capacity of home' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011: 518) and drawn out the ways in which migrant home-making practices can foster connections with other people and places, through nostalgia, memory and the imagination. Taking such arguments further and incorporating urban localities into the analysis, a special issue edited by Paolo Boccagni and Andrea Mubi Brighenti (2017) examines migrant home-making through 'thresholds of domesticity, commonality and publicness'. Using the prism of thresholds, the editors seek to unsettle the boundaries between domestic and public spaces, arguing that 'particularly for immigrant newcomers, domesticity could be framed less as an accomplished state of things *from within* than as a processual and interactive endeavour from without – indeed, as a matter of thresholds to be crafted, enacted, negotiated and, if necessary, struggled upon'. The papers in the special issue focus on different spaces of migrant home-making: mobile homes (Kusenbach, 2017), urban community gardens (Hodagneu-Sotelo, 2017), high-rise housing (Cancillieri, 2017), a multi-ethnic street (Smets and Sneep, 2017), or 'generic places', including 'airports, chain restaurants and hotels' (Ley-Cervantes and Duyvendak, 2017). The papers highlight the ways in which migrant home-making practices, whilst rooted in particular localities, encompass and are shaped by multiple factors relating to their immediate locality, as well as beyond.

Whilst this threshold approach marks a shift in thinking *across* boundaries to allow for an expanded notion of home, the focus is still on home-making practices for migrants or other residents with less attention paid to how urban dwelling is bound up with other mobilities and immobilities. If migrants' home-making practices allow us to conceptualise home as dynamic and multi-scalar, how are they embedded in wider social and material transformations that determine the differential conditions for mobility and dwelling in the city? (Meier and Frank, 2016; McFarlane, 2011b).

The above examples are important contributions to understanding the interplay between home and wider social and material contexts and between mobility and dwelling. Home-city geographies take these dynamics further, pointing to the integrated nature of urban domesticities, domestic urbanism and migration and other (im)mobilities. We argue that a

new vocabulary and new approaches are needed to think beyond thresholds and borders that allow for ways of conceptualising, visualising and understanding urban domesticities and domestic urbanism within the same frame. It is important to reiterate that in seeking to move beyond thresholds and borders, we are not overlooking the fact that borders and boundaries exist for many people, which may limit their capacity to experience, or feel included in, home and/or the city (Ghosh, 2014) or may be actively reinforced to protect home spaces against the street, neighbourhood or city beyond (Burrell, 2014). Rather we argue that taking seriously the interconnectedness of domestic and urban realms can lead to a better understanding of how these processes of exclusion and disconnection (as well as connection) at home and city scales are deeply intertwined. Home-city geographies take home *and* the city as starting points and consider how both are embedded within wider processes of mobility *and* immobility. Such a conceptual framework is important for understanding how the capacity for mobility or for staying put in the city is closely connected with questions of home on urban and domestic scales. Home-making in the city is not about either public spaces taking on features of home – the domestication of the urban - or private spaces being infiltrated by the city – the urbanization of the domestic. Rather it is about both simultaneously. Conceptualising this interrelationship allows for a better understanding of how everyday experiences of dwelling in, and moving through, cities characterised by rapid change and transformation are deeply interconnected processes. Home-city geographies allow us to take seriously the ways in which domestic lives are impacted by wider processes of urban change at the same time as urban change is affected by home-making practices, and the ways in which the entangled dynamics of both span a range of mobilities and immobilities within and beyond the city.

Putting this new conceptualization into practice, we turn now to the subjects, spaces and creative possibilities for research on home-city geographies. Extending research on housing biographies and home biographies (Blunt and Dowling, 2006), one approach is to explore life stories of urban residents and the interplay of their home lives with streets, neighbourhoods and the wider city. Inspired by biographical narratives in fiction, memoirs and academic writing that focus on the stories of particular homes and their residents over time (including Myerson 2004; Blunt 2008; Lichtenstein and Sinclair 1999), this approach explores stories of domestic dwelling not only in relation to the wider neighbourhood and city but also in relation to migration and other mobilities. It does so by moving beyond domestic methodologies (Blunt and John, 2014) – including, for example, home tours and the analysis of domestic interiors and material cultures – to consider the wider urban

context within which homes are located whilst, at the same time, extending research on city spaces to consider the domestic lives and home spaces of urban residents. Rather than study either migrants' home lives or super-diverse spaces within the city, for example, home-city geographies span both and address the extent to which living within diverse urban neighbourhoods maps onto the relationships between neighbours on a domestic scale. By moving beyond a household scale to consider urban residence and co-habitation in a wider sense, home-city geographies explore the ways in which the home and the city are sites of connection (and/or conviviality) or disconnection (and/or isolation) for urban residents.

Home-city geographies address the interplay of domestic spaces and the contested domestication of urban space within the broader intersections of urban dwelling and mobility. Through a focus on both the home and urban lives of residents, home-city geographies are themselves mobile. Home tours are very effective in understanding the everyday practices and material cultures within domestic space (Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Pink and Ledee Macklay, 2014), whilst 'walk-along' interviews and other mobile methodologies are similarly effective in understanding everyday practices and mobilities in the city (Degen and Rose, 2012). A further way to study home-city geographies is to employ such mobile methodologies within both home and city spaces, whereby home tours would extend beyond domestic space to the streets, neighbourhood and wider city beyond, and 'walk-along' interviews and other mobile methodologies would extend from the city into the home. Alongside such mobile methodologies, the use of photography and other visual methods can similarly span home and the city. One way of studying home in its urban context, for example, is to move beyond photographs that focus solely on the domestic interior – and the study of family photography within largely domestic spaces - to take photographs out of windows, of the domestic exterior, and of the wider street, neighbourhood and city within which homes are located (Chambers, 2002). At the same time, the revival of mental mapping as a way of understanding people's lives within their urban neighbourhoods (Bonnerjee, 2012) can be extended to include urban homes and the ways in which both are shaped by migration and other mobilities (also see Jackson, 2015, who uses mapping exercises to explore home and belonging among homeless people in a Day Centre in London).

The interplay between home, street and neighbourhood spaces underpins our approach to home-city geographies. An urban street, for example, offers a space that 'both situates and connects, both focusing and expanding the possibilities for contact between different individuals and groups' (Hall, 2012: 6), allowing for an exploration of domestic spaces in relation to the street and its diverse dwellings, migration histories and households.

Focusing on the street enables home-city geographies to move beyond the study of particular forms of housing to explore diverse dwellings and residents within the same neighbourhood. A street-based life-story approach reveals how migration histories, domestic lives and urban spaces map onto each other, converging and diverging in multi-layered ways. Such an approach also engages with and responds to representations of the street within popular culture (from the acclaimed BBC2 series 'The Secret History of our Streets' to more negative portrayals in the Channel 4 documentaries 'Benefits Street' and 'Immigration Street'), community projects (such as the Big Lunch or the Hackney-based Street Play programme) and photographic projects about residents on particular streets (including Nightingale, 2014 and the exhibition 'A street seen: the residents of Westbury Road' at the Geffrye Museum, 2015-16). Examining home-city geographies in the context of particular streets contributes to moves to understand 'the very ordinary practices of life and livelihoods, within which participations and allegiances emerge' (Hall, 2012: 128). Spanning domestic and urban space, home-city geographies examine how such relationships and practices at street, neighbourhood and wider city levels manifest themselves at home and beyond.

Finally, our approach to home-city geographies explores and critically engages with a range of creative practices relating to the intersections between home, city, migration and other mobilities. Attention to the hidden stories of dwellings, streets and neighbourhoods has inspired a range of urban art and performance projects (McAvinchey, 2013). Home-city geographies encompass work in which, first, home is the site and subject of art and performance in the city and, second, spaces in the city are sites to engage with questions of home to examine how such practices can contribute to new understandings of urban dwelling and mobility. Moving beyond the role of 'public' art in urban regeneration (Amin, 2008; Harris, 2012; O'Sullivan 2014), the commercialisation of street art (Dickens, 2010), and the place of art within the home (Halle, 1994, Painter, 2002), this approach unsettles distinctions between mobility and dwelling, public and private, urbanism and domesticity (also see Perry, 2013). Our collaborative work with Caoimhe McAvinchey and the artist Janetka Platun on 'Globe' and wider themes of home, belonging, migration and displacement (www.qmul.ac.uk/globe/) is an example of home-city geographies in practice. The mobile physicality of Globe – a one-meter diameter copper sphere, with four cameras recording its journeys and encounters as it rolls through the streets of East London and beyond – has inspired street-based conversations on what it means to be at home and not at home in the city in the context of migration and other mobilities. These urban encounters

together with shots from Globe's revolving footage were edited into a short film *Here be Dragons* (Platun, 2017a), whose tumbling images and jarring soundscapes capture the often disorienting and uncomfortable experience of urban dwelling. Globe's encounter with David Fertig, who arrived as a child on the Kindertransport in 1939, and was revisiting his first home in East London with his son, informed the development of a further film project, *Fertig* (Platun, 2017b).

Another example of home-city geographies in practice is our collaborative work with Casper Laing Ebbensgaard and a wider team at QMUL, the Geffrye Museum of the Home and Hackney Archives[ii] on 'Home-city-street stories' has involved the development of an audio walk drawing on a series of home-city biography interviews with residents on and near Kingsland Road in East London. Across different generations, migration histories, and housing types and tenures, the voices of urban residents reflect on home on a domestic scale and the wider neighbourhood, street and city as home. Alongside spoken narratives of home and the city, recorded sounds from within people's homes intermingle with sounds of the city beyond, reflecting and revealing the entangled nature of home-city geographies.

IV Conclusions

Bringing into dialogue historical and contemporary work on urban homes and housing, the domestication of urban space, and migration and mobility, this paper has developed an agenda for home-city geographies that encompasses the interconnectedness and porosity of urban domesticities and domestic urbanism. Research on the domestication of the urban and/or the urbanization of the domestic invoke largely metaphorical spaces of urban comfort, belonging and familiarity rather than the material spaces of urban homes and domesticity, which may themselves be spaces of precarity and alienation. Research on home often focuses on spaces, practices and material cultures within the domestic interior, with less attention to home on a city scale and the broader connections between urban dwelling and (im)mobility. Moving beyond either the domestic interior or a focus on particular forms of domestic architecture, home-city geographies address the interplay between lived experiences of urban homes and the contested domestication of urban space. By bringing home studies and urban studies into closer dialogue, this approach not only forges links across research on home, housing and urban change, but also foregrounds home on a city scale alongside other research on home over multiple and co-existing scales, including the domestic, national, imperial and transnational. Extending broader debates about home and the city in migration studies, home-city geographies also explore urban dwelling in relation

to migration and other mobilities within and beyond the city. Rather than focus either on migrant home-making in the domestic sphere, or on wider ideas of the city as home or not as home, this approach investigates the mutually constitutive, differentiated and often precarious spaces and experiences of home on both domestic and urban scales. By extending understandings of super-diversity in relation to domestic as well as urban spaces, this approach investigates the ways in which people may be both connected to, and disconnected from, their neighbours at home and in the wider city. Rather than focus solely on migration, home-city geographies encompass other mobilities too, notably those that both enable and constrain different forms of urban home-making for different people. More widely than this, however, urban dwelling is itself shaped by mobility, both for those who have migrated and those who live in cities shaped by migration, and spanning everyday movements around the city as well as mobilities and immobilities that facilitate and limit urban home-making in the context of the housing crisis, growing inequality and urban change.

The two projects on the theme 'rooms with a view' that we introduced at the beginning of this paper offer different perspectives on understanding the relationships between home and the city. Mayo and Bhari's work reflects on a 'view' of home and belonging from the lived experiences of urban neighbourhoods and the wider London borough of Hackney. Wearing's film 'A room with your views' brings together views from the domestic interior to the city and other landscapes beyond. Whilst both projects raise questions about the relationships between home and the city, spanning diversity within one location in East London and across the world, each takes one as a starting point for a 'view' on the other. In a similar way, whilst there is a growing recognition of the interconnectedness between home and the city, research on urban domesticities and domestic urbanism take either the home or the city as its starting point. In contrast, home-city geographies seek to understand both within the same conceptual frame, moving beyond an approach that either takes one as a starting point or crosses thresholds between them to understand the ways in which both can be spaces of exclusion and alienation as well as inclusion and connection. In a context when both home and city lives are increasingly precarious, uncertain and insecure, it is a key moment to develop new ways to conceptualise and imagine what it means to feel at home or not at home in the city.

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[i] This paper focuses on home-city geographies rather than, for example, home-suburban and/or home-rural geographies for two main reasons: first, because understandings of domesticity have been closely bound up with understandings of urban modernity in a western context; and, second, because domestic lives in the city have often been overlooked in urban studies. Clearly the arguments we make about extending beyond the domestic interior in relation to understandings of home in the wider city can also be extended to thinking about rural and suburban neighbourhoods, as well as ideas about the village, town or suburb as home.

[ii] The project team also includes Nadia Valman from QMUL, Eleanor John, Rebecca Jacobs and Janice Welch from the Geffrye Museum of the Home, and Joanne Anthony, Etienne Joseph and Lucy Tann from Hackney Archives. The project is funded by the QMUL Centre for Public Engagement, and the audio walk is available at ****to be added following completion in July 2018****